

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Action

Control: 19428

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FROM: GENEVA

Rec'd: JULY 29, 1959

Info

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SS

TO: Secretary of State

SP

NO: SECTO 413, JULY 28, 11 P.M.

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SENT DEPARTMENT SECTO 413; REPEATED INFORMATION BONN 39, LONDON 72, MOSCOW 53, PARIS 41, BERLIN 36

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BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE CONFUSION ARISING FROM WELTER OF REPORTS OF BOTH PRIVATE AND PLenary SESSIONS SINCE JULY 13, WE BELIEVE MAY BE HELPFUL TO SET FORTH OUR ESTIMATE OF WHERE WE STAND WITH GROMYKO ON PRINCIPAL ISSUES BEFORE CONFERENCE AS CONFIRMED BY SOVIET PAPER DATED JULY 28, JUST RECEIVED (SECTO 409):

1. FORCE LEVELS IN BERLIN. WESTERN POSITION IS UNILATERAL COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE OVER PRESENT 11,000 AND TO CONSIDER REDUCTION WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT (JUNE 16 PROPOSAL).

GROMYKO INSISTS ON REDUCTION TO "SYMBOLIC" LEVEL DESCRIBED BY HIM AS THREE TO FOUR THOUSAND.

2. ARMAMENT OF FORCES IN BERLIN. WESTERN POSITION IS UNILATERAL UNDERTAKING TO CONTINUE NOT TO LOCATE ATOMIC WEAPONS OR MISSILE INSTALLATIONS IN WEST BERLIN.

THIS WOULD SEEM TO MEET GROMYKO'S SEARCH FOR COMMITMENT THAT THERE SHALL BE NO ATOMIC OR MISSILE WEAPONS IN WEST BERLIN, OSTENSIBLY SO PHRASED TO COVER IMPROBABLE CONTINGENCY THAT US OR UK MIGHT ARM WESTERN BERLIN POLICE WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE ALSO INSISTS THAT COMMITMENT STAND AS INDEPENDENT POINT OF AGREEMENT, POSSIBLY TO SUPPORT SOVIET EXPLOITATION OF WESTERN CONSENT TO PILOT DENUCLEARIZED ZONE AS PRESSURE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF OTHER WIDER ZONES.

3. ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN. WEST PROPOSES AGREEMENT TO TAKE MEASURES CONSISTENT

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-2- SECTO 413, JULY 28, 11 P.M., FROM GENEVA

MEASURES CONSISTENT WITH FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES TO AVOID IN BOTH PARTS OF BERLIN ACTIVITIES WHICH MIGHT EITHER DISTURB PUBLIC ORDER OR SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OR AMOUNT TO INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. WEST HAS INSISTED THIS UNDERTAKING MUST BE ON BASIS OF ABSOLUTE RECIPROCITY AND HAS PROPOSED THAT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL REPORT TO HIM ANY PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN CONFLICT WITH FOREGOING CRITERIA.

GROMYKO SEEKS WESTERN COMMITMENT TO TERMINATE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES EMANATING FROM WEST BERLIN AND DIRECTED AGAINST GDR AND OTHER SOCIALIST STATES. ALTHOUGH VIGOROUSLY DENYING ANY BASIS FOR RECIPROCAL APPROACH TO THIS QUESTION, HE HAD INDICATED HE WOULD ACCEPT SOME MEASURE OF RECIPROCITY PROVIDED FORMULA DOES NOT ATTEMPT ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY EQUALLY TO BOTH PARTS OF GERMANY. HIS JULY 28 PAPER, HOWEVER, REVERTS TO INITIAL UNILATERAL WESTERN UNDERTAKING AND SIMPLY OFFERS GDR DECLARATION ON NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF WEST BERLIN AND RESPECT FOR INTERIM WEST BERLIN SETTLEMENT.

4. DURATION OF ANY AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. WESTERN POSITION IS THAT DURATION SHOULD BE UNTIL REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY BUT THAT AFTER FIVE YEARS AT REQUEST OF ANY OF FOUR GOVERNMENTS QUESTION OF BERLIN COULD BE CONSIDERED BY RESUMED FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED.

GROMYKO OBJECTS TO ANY REFERENCE TO REUNIFICATION AS TERMINAL POINT OF BERLIN ARRANGEMENT. WHILE HE AGREES TO REVIEW BY FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE AS NOW CONSTITUTED AFTER SPECIFIED PERIOD, LATTER SHOULD BE EIGHTEEN MONTHS AS SET FORTH JUNE 19 AND JULY 28 PROPOSALS. DESPITE JUNE 19 AND 28 ASSERTIONS OF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE TIME PERIOD, GROMYKO HAS MADE NO MENTION OF THIS IN EITHER PRIVATE OR PLENARY SESSIONS SINCE RECONVENING, AND HIS PAPER JUST DELIVERED AGAIN STIPULATES EIGHTEEN MONTHS.

5. ACCESS. WESTERN POSITION IS FREE AND UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN BY LAND, BY WATER, AND BY AIR FOR ALL PERSONS, GOODS AND COMMUNICATIONS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE FORCES OF THE WESTERN POWERS STATIONED IN BERLIN, WILL BE MAINTAINED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROCEDURES IN EFFECT IN APRIL 1959; FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST BERLIN;

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EAST AND WEST BERLIN; AND THAT ALL DISPUTES WHICH MIGHT ARISE WITH RESPECT TO ACCESS WILL BE RAISED AND SETTLED BETWEEN THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS THROUGH A QUADRIPARTITE COMMISSION WHICH WOULD MEET IN BERLIN AND WOULD CONSULT GERMAN EXPERTS, IF NECESSARY.

GROMYKO'S POSITION IS THAT SOVIETS WILL MAINTAIN "PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS" ON ACCESS FOR DURATION OF INTERIM BERLIN ARRANGEMENT BUT INSISTS THERE SHOULD BE NO SUPERVISION OF THIS COMMITMENT.

6. POSITION AT END OF AGREEMENT. WESTERN POSITION IS THAT ALLIED RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS MUST REMAIN UNIMPAIRED AT THE EXPIRY OF BERLIN ARRANGEMENT AND ALSO AFTER RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS BY FOREIGN MINISTERS WHEN AGREEMENT EXPIRES.

GROMYKO STATES THAT THERE MUST BE NO REFERENCE IN BERLIN SETTLEMENT TO RIGHTS OR EXISTING AGREEMENTS. HE DOES, HOWEVER, PLEDGE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO TAKE NO UNILATERAL ACTION DURING AGREEMENT AND ENSUING NEGOTIATIONS.

7. ARRANGEMENTS FOR DISCUSSION OF WIDER GERMAN PROBLEM. WESTERN PROPOSAL IS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE, AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED, SHALL CONTINUE IN BEING TO CONSIDER GERMAN PROBLEM AS A WHOLE AND TO CONSIDER QUESTIONS RELATING TO CONTACTS; THAT CONFERENCE SHALL MEET AT SUCH LEVEL AND AT SUCH PLACE AS AGREED; AND THAT CONFERENCE MAY MAKE SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSIDERATION OF QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF ITS TERMS OF REFERENCE.

GROMYKO PROPOSES AN ALL-GERMAN COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER GERMAN PROBLEMS, INCLUDING REUNIFICATION, PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND CONTACTS. HE INSISTS THAT REUNIFICATION MUST BE EXCLUSIVE CONCERN OF TWO GERMANIES AND THAT ANY CONSIDERATION OF GERMAN PROBLEM, IN THIS FRAMEWORK, MUST BE SUBJECT TO A TIME LIMIT. HE HAS INDICATED WILLINGNESS CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GERMANS PROVIDED THESE ARE FREE OF FOUR POWER SURVEILLANCE.

8. SUPERVISORY COMMISSION. THE WESTERN POSITION IS THAT A FOUR POWER SUPERVISORY COMMISSION SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO SETTLE DISPUTES RE ACCESS.

GROMYKO

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Authority *100902436*

By *LAW* NARA, Date *3/13/11*

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-4- SECTO 413, JULY 28, 11 P.M., FROM GENEVA

GROMYKO PROPOSES A FOUR POWER SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE WHICH, HOWEVER, WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPERVISING FULFILLMENT OF WESTERN COMMITMENTS RE TROOP LEVELS, ARMS AND ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN. GROMYKO INSISTS THERE CAN BE NO SUPERVISION OF THE SOVIET PLEDGE TO MAINTAIN PRESENT ACCESS PROCEDURES. WE REJECT HIS PROPOSAL FOR QUADRIPARTITE SUPERVISION WESTERN UNDERTAKINGS RE TROOP LEVELS AND ARMS. REGARDING ACTIVITIES WE ARE PREPARED ACCEPT SUPERVISION, PREFERABLY BY UN REPRESENTATIVE, AND ONLY IF ON ALL-BERLIN BASIS.

IN ADDITION TO POSITIONS ON ABOVE ISSUES, GROMYKO HAS INDICATED FOLLOWING VIEWS, POSSIBLY ONLY FOR TACTICAL REASONS:

- 1) WEST'S AGREEMENT TO ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURE FOR GERMAN TALKS IS LINKED WITH CONCLUSION OF BERLIN SETTLEMENT (ALTHOUGH HE REFUSES CLARIFY WHETHER THIS ABSOLUTE PRECONDITION).
- 2) AGREEMENT ON ANY ONE ASPECT OF BERLIN SETTLEMENT IS DEPENDENT ON AGREEMENT ON ALL OTHERS. (WE AGREE WITH THIS.) HE HAS APPLIED THIS PRINCIPLE OF INTERDEPENDENCE PARTICULARLY TO QUESTION OF TROOP LEVELS AND HAS STATED DECISION CANNOT BE USEFULLY DISCUSSED UNTIL AGREEMENT REACHED ON THIS ASPECT. IN RECENT DAYS HE HAS INCREASINGLY STRESSED IMPORTANCE TROOP LEVEL ISSUE.
- 3) IT IS IMPRACTICAL TO THINK THAT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT COULD RESOLVE QUESTIONS WHICH STUMP FOREIGN MINISTERS. (THIS REPRESENTS A REVERSAL OF TRADITIONAL KHRUSHCHEV POSITION THAT SUMMIT IS MAGIC FORMULA FOR RESOLUTION OF ALL QUESTION INSOLUBLE AT LOWER LEVELS.)

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